

*W. Baring*

**ANIMADVERSIONS**

UPON A

**P A P E R**

IN THE

**L O N D O N JOURNAL**

*of Saturday, February 26.*



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Which charges the Ruin of the Family of the  
*STUARTS* upon the *CHURCH*, and  
upon their trusting to the Maxim, *NO*  
*BISHOP, NO KING.*



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## ANIMADVERSIONS, &c.

**T**H E Papers which have been published from time to time in the *London Journal*, discover such a settled Prejudice against the Bishops and Clergy of the Established Church, that they are to hope for no *Favour* or *Mercy* from that Quarter. But it might be expected that a Writer who professes himself to be so great a Patron of *moral Virtue*, as to make it the *Whole* of Religion, should at least shew a strict Regard to the Rules of *Truth* and *Justice*.

In the Paper of *Saturday February 26*, after he has told us, with a decisive Air, how little the Civil Government is concerned, whether the present Constitution of the Church be continued or not; he roundly asserts, *That the Family of the Stuarts was ruined by trusting*

*trusting to that treacherous Maxim, NO BISHOP, NO KING; and the great Design of that Paper, is to lay the Mis-carriages and Misfortunes of the two first of that Family, at the Door of the Ecclesiasticks.*

Let us see then how this Matter stands upon the Foundation of *Fact*, and try whether a little plain History and Chronology will not set Things in a very different Light, and oblige this angry Writer to take Shame to himself.

The chief Mismanagements which our Histories charge upon King *James I.* were these: His excessive Bounty to the *Scots* at his first coming in: His raising the Duke of *Buckingham* from a low Condition to be the Favourite and chief Minister: His neglect of his Son-in-Law the Prince Palatine, and of the *Protestant* Interest in *Europe*, thro' an immoderate Fondness for the *Spanish* Match: His Intercourse with the Pope and the Court of *Rome* upon that Occasion, and the large Concessions he agreed to in favour of the *English* *Papists*, and for the Children of that Match to receive the first Impressions of Religion

gion from their Mother : The long Discontinuance of Parliaments : The sudden Dissolutions and Prorogations of them when called, and the supplying his Necessities by Benevolences, Projects, and Monopolies.—Whoever looks into our Histories, will find that these were the provoking Steps, by which King *James I.* lost the Hearts and Affections of the People ; and let this Writer try, if in these he can find the Hand of an Ecclesiastick.

King *Charles I.* went on in his Father's Steps. The Duke of *Buckingham* continued the great Favourite, and was become yet more odious to the People by his inglorious and unsuccessful Expedition to *Rochelle*, while Lord High-Admiral ; Parliaments were prorogued and dissolved, to protect him from the Indignation of the Commons ; and upon their refusing Supplies till Grievances were redressed, recourse was had to the like unmutual Methods of raising Money for the Support of the Government. And whereas in the foregoing Reign, the Encouragement that *Poperie* was like to receive from the *Spanish Match*, was a thing *in view* only,



only, in this, the Protection it received from a *Popish* Queen upon the Throne, was a thing *in fact*, and sensibly felt, and occasioned early Remonstrances from the Commons to the Throne. One of these Remonstrances, after a Specification of that and other Grievances, concludes with this general Charge, *Of all which Evils and Dangers the principal Cause is the Duke of Buckingham's excessive Power, and Abuse of that Power.*

'Tis true, before that Remonstrance, the Bishops and Clergy had openly forwarded a *Loan*, in Obedience to the Directions of King *Charles* the First. These Directions were, To put the People in mind, that the War, for the Support of which he desired the *Loan*, was entered into by the Advice of both Houses of Parliament, and that it was to support the Protestant Cause against the growing Power of the Empire and *Spain*. On this Occasion two Ecclesiasticks, out of many thousands, I mean *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, not content to pursue his Majesty's Directions, represented the *Loan* as a Matter of *Right*  
on

on the part of the Crown, and upon such Principles as destroyed the Liberty and Property of the People; for which they were deservedly complained of in Parliament; and one of them, after an Impeachment, very unadvisedly promoted to a Bishoprick, tho', to discourage that Step, Archbishop *Laud* suggested the Censure that had passed in Parliament, and the Construction that would be made of such a Favour conferr'd on him by the Court.

It is also true, that in the last Remonstrance against the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Commons complained of two Bishops, *Neal* and *Laud*; but this was only as Favourers of the *Arminian* Doctrine, of which Mr. *Montague* had been accused before, but never brought to Trial. And what sort of Crime this was, may be learnt from my Lord *Clarendon*, who gives the following Account of it with relation to those Times, (B. I. p. 92. in 8<sup>vo</sup>)

“ Some doctrinal Points in Controversy  
 “ had been agitated in the Pulpits with  
 “ more Warmth and Reflections than  
 “ had used to be; and thence the Heat  
 “ and Animosity encreased in Books  
 “ *pro* and *con* upon the same Arguments.

B

“ Most

“ Most of the popular Preachers, who  
 “ had not looked into the ancient  
 “ Learning, took *Calvin's* Word for it,  
 “ and did all they could to propagate  
 “ his Opinions in those Points. They  
 “ who had studied more, and were  
 “ better versed in the Antiquities of  
 “ the Church, the Fathers, the Councils,  
 “ and the Ecclesiastical Histories, with  
 “ the same Heat and Passion in preach-  
 “ ing and writing, defended the con-  
 “ trary.—The latter were called *Ar-*  
 “ *minians*, though many of them had  
 “ never read a Word written by *Ar-*  
 “ *minius*. Either Side defended and  
 “ maintained the different Opinions as  
 “ the Doctrine of the Church of *Eng-*  
 “ *land*; as the two great Orders in the  
 “ Church of *Rome*, the *Dominicans*  
 “ and *Franciscans*, did at the same  
 “ time, and had many hundred Years  
 “ before, with more Vehemence and  
 “ Uncharitableness, maintained the same  
 “ Opinions one against the other; ei-  
 “ ther Party professing to adhere to  
 “ the Doctrine of the Catholick Church,  
 “ which had been ever wiser than to  
 “ determine the Controversy. And yet  
 “ that Party here which could least  
 “ support



“ support themselves with Reason, were  
 “ very sollicitous, according to the In-  
 “ genuity they always practise to ad-  
 “ vance any of their Pretences, to have  
 “ the People believe, that they who  
 “ held with *Arminius* did intend to in-  
 “ troduce Popery. And truly the o-  
 “ ther side was no less willing to have  
 “ it thought, that all who adher’d to  
 “ *Calvin* in those Controversies, did in  
 “ their Hearts likewise adhere to him  
 “ with reference to the Discipline, and  
 “ desired to change the Government of  
 “ the Church, destroy the Bishops, and to  
 “ set up the Discipline that he had esta-  
 “ blished at *Geneva*. And so both sides  
 “ found such Reception generally with  
 “ the People, as they were inclined to  
 “ the Persons; whereas, in truth, none  
 “ of the one side were at all inclined to  
 “ Popery, and very many of the other  
 “ were most affectionate to the Peace  
 “ and Prosperity of the Church, and  
 “ very pious and learned Men.”

But to proceed in the History. By  
 this time, things were come to such a  
 desperate State between the King and  
 the Commons, that no more Parliaments  
 were held in twelve Years. And yet I

do not remember, that in all the Time preceding that long Intermission, any Ecclesiastick had been taken notice of by the Commons (otherwise than as above) as accessory to those fatal Misunderstandings between the King and the People, which ended in the Destruction of that Prince. So little Reason had the Writer of that Paper in the *London Journal*, to charge the Church and Churchmen with the Destruction of King *Charles I.* against a Stream of Evidence to the contrary, which nothing could have withstood and got over, but a Heart full of Prejudice against the Bishops and Clergy and the established Church.

As to the High Commission Court, and the Proceedings there; it was a Court erected by Authority of Parliament, in the first year of Queen *Elizabeth*, for the Support and Maintenance of the Government, Doctrine and Discipline of the Establish'd Church, against the Attempts of Papists and Sectaries of all Kinds. And the Powers vested in the Crown by that Act, were from time to time conveyed to Persons of the highest Rank and Character in  
Church

Church and State ; who were in course to exert them more or less, as the Behaviour of the Enemies of the Establishment, whether Popish or Protestant, should appear to them to deserve or require. If it was an Act of such a nature as ought never to have been made, this is to be charged upon the Legislature, and not upon the Commissioners. If that Court in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles* I. exerted Powers or inflicted Penalties which the Act did not clearly warrant, let it be enquired, whether the same things were not done throughout the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* ; and then be considered, what Degrees of Indulgence are allowed to Courts of Judicature, who proceed according to the accusom'd Rules, till the Legislature think fit to explain the Law otherwise: If in the Reign of King *Charles* I. the Commissioners did in any Instance proceed with greater Rigour, than in the two former Reigns ; let it be candidly considered, whether the Insults of the Secretaries upon the Constitution of the Church, were not, in proportion, greater, more numerous, and more provoking,



ing, than in either of the preceding Reigns.

The Jealousies and Misunderstandings between the King and his People, as they stood at the Dissolution of the last Parliament in 1628, were farther inflam'd by the Methods which the Court had recourse to for Supplies of Money, during the twelve Years Intermission of Parliaments. Such (besides some of those before-mentioned) were, the Compositions for confirming defective Titles to Estates; Fines upon those who had forty Pounds a Year, and refused to take upon them the Order of Knighthood; Restraints upon the Sale of Soap and other Commodities; and, above all, Loans upon Privy Seals, and the levying of Ship-Money. And in the Affair of Religion, the Jealousies of Popery were grown so strong, by the Presence of standing Nuncio's from the Pope, by the Protection which the Queen obtained for Papists, and by branding all Ecclesiasticks with the Name of Papists, who were not of the rigid *Calvinian* Persuasion; that the Endeavours to preserve Decency and Solemnity in the publick Worship of God, which were  
very

very necessary at that time, and which at other times would have been thought laudable, or at least innocent, were now loudly inveigh'd against as Popish Superstitions and Innovations.

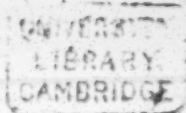
One Extreme naturally begets another. The Observation of the *Lord's Day*, with the Strictness of a *Judaical Sabbath*, was now openly maintain'd and practis'd; and this begat a Royal *Indulgence* for Sports on that Day, with Censures upon those who refused to publish it in the Church; all which was certainly very wrong in it self, and gave just Offence to Numbers of pious and good Men; and would have given much greater, if the Indulgence had not been restrained, as to *Time*, till the afternoon Service was over, and, as to *Persons*, to those only who had duly attended the publick Offices of the Day. In like manner, the rooted Prejudice against Ceremonies on one side, drove the other to revive, press, and enforce them with greater Zeal than the Times would bear, and greater than they themselves would probably have exercised, if they had not seen, that those who were attacking the Out-works, intend-

ed finally to destroy the whole Frame and Fabrick of the Church. But tho' the Parliament of 1640 were far enough from being partial to the Order, I do not find that any one Bishop was call'd to Account by them for any one thing done in that long Intermiſſion of twelve Years; except Archbishop *Laud*, whose Cause, notwithstanding, seems not to have been ripe for Trial, till after an Enquiry and Deliberation of three Years (for ſo long was the ſpace between the Accuſation and Proſecution;) and Biſhop *Wren*, who was indeed impeach'd, but never brought to Trial.

But however the Biſhops might think it their Duty to keep up Order and Uniformity in their own Dioceſes; it was certainly no part of their Duty to provide a *Liturgy* for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; nor is Archbishop *Laud* to be juſtified in that Attempt, any farther than as he carried on the Work in Obedience to the Command of the King, the Sovereign of *both* Kingdoms; who appears in the whole courſe of his Life to have had a diſtinguiſh'd Zeal for *Uniformity*.  
 “ The King, ſays my Lord *Clarendon*,  
 (B. I. p. 81. in 8<sup>vo</sup>) was always the moſt  
 “ punctual



“ punctual Observer of all Decency in  
 “ his Devotion, and the strictest Pro-  
 “ moter of the Ceremonies of the  
 “ Church; as believing in his Soul  
 “ the Church of *England* to be insti-  
 “ tuted the nearest to the Practice of  
 “ the Apostles, and the best for the  
 “ Propagation and Advancement of  
 “ Christian Religion, of any Church in  
 “ the World: And on the other Side,  
 “ though no Man was more averse from  
 “ the *Romish* Church than he was, nor  
 “ better understood the Motives of their  
 “ Separation from us, and Animosity  
 “ against us, he had the highest dis-  
 “ like and prejudice to that part of his  
 “ own Subjects who were against the  
 “ Government established, and did al-  
 “ ways look upon them as a very dan-  
 “ gerous and seditious People, who  
 “ would under Pretence of Conscience,  
 “ which kept them from submitting to  
 “ the Spiritual Jurisdiction, take the  
 “ first Opportunity, they could find, or  
 “ make, to withdraw themselves from  
 “ their Temporal Subjection.” But  
 tho’ his Majesty, as well as the Arch-  
 bishop, would have thought it a great  
 Happiness to have seen the three King-  
 C doms



doms under one and the same Form of Government, Discipline and Worship ; yet it was always meant, on Supposition that it could be *quietly* effected. The Words of Archbishop *Laud* to this purpose, are remarkable. (Trial, p. 109.) *Though I like the Book exceeding well, and hope I shall be able to maintain any thing that is in it, and wish with all my Heart it had been entertain'd there; yet I did ever desire it might come to them with their own liking and approbation. Nay, I did ever upon all Occasions, call upon the Scottish Bishops, to do nothing in this particular, but by warrant of Law. And farther, I professed unto them before his Majesty, that tho' I had obey'd his Commands in helping to order that Book; yet since I was ignorant of the Laws of that Kingdom, I would have nothing at all to do with the manner of introducing it, but left that wholly to them, who do or should understand both that Church and the Laws.*

However, thus much is certain, that the Archbishop had the revising of the Book, after it had been prepared by the *Scots* Bishops. And because he is  
known

known to have been a hearty *Well-wisher* to the Design, which we see he made no Difficulty to own and avow; the Writer of the Letter in the *London Journal* lays his Finger upon this one Point, as the *finishing Stroke* in the King's Ruin, by occasioning the March of the *Scots Army* into *England*.

Now, to set this Matter in a clear Light, let me ask him two or three plain Questions; first, Whether he can think, that after that Attempt in *Scotland* had been made and miscarried, the *Scots*, notwithstanding the ill Blood it raised among them, would have ventur'd an Army into *England*, if they had not rely'd on the Distractions which had been occasion'd here by the long Misunderstanding between the King and his People? Whether he can believe, that in case no Attempt had ever been made to bring in a new Liturgy, the *Scots* would not have been ready, of their own accord, to assist their Brethren in *England*, when they saw so great a Disposition in the Parliament to abolish Episcopacy, and to settle the *Scots* Worship and Discipline throughout *Great Britain*? Whether, if the Liturgy was the Pro-



vocation that brought them into *England*, we should not have heard of a *Scots* Army crossing the *Tweed* before *August* 20. 1640. since the Attempt to introduce the Liturgy was on the 23d of *July* 1637. And, Whether he never heard of a *Pacification* between the King and the *Scots*, concluded *June* 17. 1639. that is, nigh two Years *after* the Attempt to introduce the Liturgy, and above one Year before the March of the *Scots* Army into *England*.

The truth is; the King had given them the fullest Satisfaction in the Matter of the Liturgy, by expressly annulling all Acts and Orders relating to it in *Sept.* 1638, near two Years *before* their coming into *England*. And in the Declaration of the *Grounds* and *Causes* of their coming, they are so far from alledging this, that they mention it as a Point they had already gained, and assign many other Particulars of a quite different Nature. In the *May* before, the King had parted with his first Parliament in 1640, upon very ill Terms; and the *Scots* in their Declaration, speaking of the *Encouragements* they had to atchieve that Undertaking  
from

*from many Passages of Divine Providence; add these Words, and namely, from the Proceedings of the last Parliament in England; their Grievances and Desires being so homogeneous and akin to ours. The Conclusion of that Declaration is also very remarkable. If the Lord shall bless us in this our Expedition, and our Intentions shall not be cross'd by our own Sins and Mis-carriages, or by the Opposition of the English; the Fruits shall be sweet, and the Effects comfortable to both Nations, to Posterity, and the Reformed Kirk abroad. Scotland shall be reform'd, as at the Beginning; the Reformation of England, long prayed and pleaded for by the Godly, thereby shall be, according to their Wishes and Desires, perfected in Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline: Papists, Prelates, and all the Members of the Antichristian Hierarchy, with their Idolatry, Superstition, and human Inventions, shall pack from hence; the Names of Sects and Sectaries shall no more be mentioned, and the Lord shall be one, and his Name one, throughout the whole Island.*

When

When the Writer of the Paper in the *London Journal* has well weighed these things, I hope he will be ashamed of imposing so gross a Fallacy upon his Readers, as is the placing the King's final Ruin to the Account of that single Incident of the *Liturgy*;† in the Zeal of his Heart to lay his Ruin at the Door of the Church.

It is plain then, that the Ruin of that truly pious, though unhappy Prince, was owing, first, to the evil Counsellors who led him into those Stretches of Prerogative, and Inroads upon the Liberties of the Subject, which, together with the Jealousies of Popery from the Influence of the Queen, set him at a fatal Variance with his Parliaments and People; and afterwards, to the wicked and desperate Crew, who when he had consented to such Acts of Parliament in favour of the Liberties of the People, as in the judgment of all impartial Men, were a full and sufficient Security, would yet be satisfied with nothing but his Blood.

The Maxim, NO BISHOP, NO KING, was brought into *England* by King *James* the First, and was taught him,  
not



not by the Bishops, but by the Experience he had had of the Presbyterian Government in *Scotland*. It was a Saying he used the first Year of his Reign, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court* ; “ *How they* [the Presbyterians “ in Scotland] *treated me in my Mi-* “ *nority, you all know. But if once* “ *you* (speaking to the English Bi- “ shops) *were out, and they* [the En- “ glish Presbyterians] *were in, I know* “ *what would become of my Supremacy,* “ *for, NO BISHOP, NO KING.*” The Maxim was sadly verified in his Son King *Charles* the First ; by the Fall, first of the Bishops, then of the King, and after that of the whole House of Peers. They all fell ; and as to the *Connection* of their Fates, it is not material in what *Order* they fell. This is one signal Instance in favour of that Maxim ; and before this Writer treated it as so great a Paradox, he should have remembered, that as they *fell*, so they *rose, together*. Another Testimony in its behalf, is the Argument which the Enemies of Episcopacy have always urged, to prove it a human Institution, That when the Empire be-  
came

came Christian, Episcopacy was made the settled Government in the Church, as most *agreeable* to the Method in the State, of administering every Province by its particular Governor.

This Writer therefore may do well to review that Point, and then account to himself, how so many wise Men in all Ages have come to think, that there is somewhat in the Frame and Nature of Episcopal Government, that is more suitable to Monarchy, than either the Presbyterian, or any other Scheme; and for what Reason the most noted Commonwealths, when they reformed from Popery, made *Presbytery* their Form of Church-Government; and how it comes to pass, that there are so few Instances in the World, in which Monarchy and Episcopacy are not joined together. In our own Country, we are sure they *fell* and *rose* together; and if any future Prince shall have the Curiosity to try, whether Presbytery, when established, will not prove as good a Support to Monarchy, as Episcopacy has been found to be, I shall only say, it will be a very wanton Experiment.

F I N I S.

